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not a single sentence has he introduced in reply to those charges. From this circumstance, added to the profound silence preserved by the Editor himself, I must conclude that they are unanswerable. To what a predicament has this unfortunate man reduced himself! Is he sure that his friend Crito will make up to him the loss he will sustain by his forfeiture of all claims on public opinion? Is he so well paid for the insertion of Crito's lucubrations as to indemnify him for the loss of the character of his paper with those on whose support he has hitherto depended? Does he think that the profits arising from advertisements will be made up to him by the insertion of legends of the saints, remarkable days in the different months, and luminous and learned essays from Crito and Philo-crito? It is no business of mine, Gentlemen; but I fear he has felt most sensibly already that a little more respect to public opinion would have served his interest more than attaching himself to a perishing faction, which

is more in the habit of *taking* than giving.

I have this moment seen the News-Letter of the 22d inst. Our sapient Editor recommends that the white cockade should be worn to-day to make up for the want of bell-ringing. I hope the people will be wise enough to perceive the snake in the grass, and that they will pay no attention to the insidious advice. The country is already enough distracted by parties; Orange and Anti-Orange are curse enough to us, without increasing those distinctive marks of party, which may give rise to another division of the people. But it is astonishing to me how this *loyal* Editor and his Orange friends can recommend to be worn an insignia which was formerly considered a mark of Jacobitism, that none but an adherent or secret friend to the house of Stuart would have displayed. But woe-
 ders will never cease.

TACOCRITUS.

April 28, 1813.

MONTHLY RETROSPECT OF POLITICS.

POLITICAL events have occurred, so momentous in their nature, that they still retain the lively impression of the *present*, and, as yet, are scarcely removable to that distance, which admits of reflective retrospect. They arrest the whole attention, and in doing so, suspend all operations of the intellect, for, in a state in which we are all eyes and ears, all gaze and wonder, the mind is, as it were, abroad, or, at least, loses its power of transferring itself from the spectacle of the present, to past causes, or to future consequences. Drinkwater, in his account of the siege of Gibraltar, relates, that when the bombs or lighted shells were seen in the air, the spectators perfectly unable to ascertain their direction, from the dazzling rapidity of the descent, stood, as if petrified to the spot, without moving in the

least degree, backward or forward, to one side or the other; and, thus, it is, that the late high and strange events, these "*casus rerum*" of the political horizon, fix the philosopher and the vulgar in the same state of astonishment, and the same incapability of reflexion.

The rupture of the negotiation for peace, which appears to have been carried on by both parties, as a *ruse de guerre*; the sudden and successful advance of the allied armies, after a movement of Bonaparte, inexplicable except from the consciousness of a force totally deficient, and an endeavour to recruit it by the resources that still remained in the armies of his generals, on the frontiers; the defeat of the armed force which guarded Paris; the consequent capitulation of that capital which is recommended to the generosity of the

high allied powers, and which generosity to their immortal honor, has been illustrated in the preservation of life and the security of property; the appointment of a provisional government; the adherence of the marshals and generals to that government; the dethronement of Bonaparte by the senate, followed by his abdication; the preparation of a new constitution, recognised and guaranteed by the allied powers, in which the integrity of France is said to be respected, and its greatness and strength preserved, in which the senate and legislative body are to be constituent parts, the army to retain its ranks, honours, and pensions, the public debts to be inviolable, the sale of the national domains to be irrevocably maintained, no retrospect to public opinions before expressed, and liberty of worship and of conscience to be proclaimed as well as the liberty of the press, subject to the legal repression of the crimes which may arise from the abuse of that liberty; the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of France, by a Constitutional charter, equally advantageous to the people and the royal family destined to govern them; the adherence of the metropolitan chapter of Paris, of which the first signature is that of Cardinal Maury, adhering to the decree of forfeiture; the liberation of the Pope (an event so auspicious to the reasonable hopes of the Catholics of Ireland) and, in fine, Europe, after twenty years of suffering, in the enjoyment of PEACE. Such is the small index to this giant mass of things, in which for our own sake we confess we cannot yet discover any thing distinctly, any clue that would with certainty lead us from existing circumstances to a knowledge of what may be the result of such sudden and wondrous changes.

In all events, blest and blessing is the change from war to peace, nor do we think that a course to that event could be taken so short as over the body of Napoleon, or by trampling upon his crown. It was the misfortune of France to have a soldier for the sovereign, who in becoming a monarch, could never divest himself of a devotion to the military profession. The first king may have been nothing more than an adventurous soldier, but a great king must not think of turning his people into an army, and his country into a camp. His civic duties ought to predominate; and Napoleon has given a lesson to sovereigns of the great precariousness, and instability of that military power, whose destiny may be decided by the die of a single battle.

This is the grand moral which all monarchs must deduce from the mutations of the times, and which will lead them to cultivate the solid prosperity of the people, as the surest and cheapest defence of nations. Bonaparte was rather a military dictator, than the monarch of a civil community; and, although neither monster nor tyrant in disposition, yet the habits of his life and the whole cast of his character led him to absorb all France as it were in himself, and thus to smother all other name, all other distinction, all other eminence than that of arms, in a country where knowledge is so widely spread, and where men of the first attainments in civil society were thrown into obscurity, and political oblivion. It therefore may be said that the republicanism of Europe has met an auxiliary in the republicanism of France, in overturning the military despotism of a man who was a great soldier, but not a great sovereign, the "imperator" of prætorian guards, rather than the protector of a great people,

through every distinction of rank, every profession, and every class of civil society.

A warrior makes the worst of sovereigns. Every social duty is subaltern to the over-ruling propensity, which either creates or continues that perversion in the public intellect, that gambles away the common-weal, and thinks it inglorious to acquire by the sweat of the brow, what could more readily be procured by the effusion of blood. The nation moulds itself in manners, and conduct, on the partial propensities of the individual, who can live only in the high hazards of fortune, and with a depraved perversity (*"prava perversitas"*) goes on, always doubling bets, till, in the insanity of success, he grows blind to the powerful combination which is mustering against him, and falls, at once, headlong, from his desperate elevation. Napoleon would have conquered the world, but the world proved stronger, and placed him in the island of Elba. *"Que voulez vous qu'il fit contre trois rois?" "qu'il mourut."* It seems, however, that notwithstanding this line in the *Horace* of Corneille, which always creates such a grand, "coup de theatre," the great performer of the day, has accepted a pension from the new government, which he politely professes to be too large for a soldier; still, on the throne, or off it, still, *but* a soldier.

But what will be the fate of the people of France? Is it possible, one may exclaim, that after having suffered, at home and abroad, as never nation suffered before, the people of France will return exactly to the same situation they were placed in before the revolution, and that the ancient regime will be restored with the restoration of the Bourbons? No, we think it highly improbable. Past events have

left their record deep in the human mind. The lesson will not be lost; and potentates, as well as people, are become sensible of the abuses of greatness; there is, if we may term it so, a republic of kings establishing itself in Europe, better instructed in the duties as well as rights of sovereign authority, better versed in the true value of the people, and the wondrous productive powers of religious and civil liberty; *in short*, a common-weal of the world, the best and surest support of hereditary thrones, is about to take place, which, in the liberty and equality of nations, will find the strongest guarantee against a renewal of the spirit of conquest, and may thus lay the basis of a permanent, perhaps, a perpetual peace. In the moderation and magnanimity displayed by the confederation of Europe, at this eventful crisis, we see proofs of that enlargement and comprehension of mind which watches the progress of knowledge, and the general advancement of mankind; and respecting it rather than dreading it, wishes as soon as possible to convert it to the best uses, a predilection for peace, a diffusion of the means of acquiring wealth, and a support of legitimate authority.

The whole spirit of every country will no longer be drafted off into military purposes and pursuits *

* "The provisional government, considering that the system, of giving men, their inclinations and talents, an exclusive direction towards the military profession and spirit, induced the late government to withdraw a great number of children from the paternal authority, to educate them according to its private views in the public establishment; that nothing can be a greater invasion of the rights of the paternal authority, and that, on the other hand, this vexatious system was directly hostile to the developement of the different kinds of genius, talent, and

Peace will give a new turn and direction, a new developement to the multiplied powers and capacities of the human mind, and when at this instant, we see all nature around us bursting forth into vernal life and light, and joy, it gladdens our hearts that the human mind is not to be employed, through all seasons and their change, in exploding a mixture of sulphur, nitre, and charcoal, for mutual destruction.

The rulers of the earth will, we trust, know and feel it their interest to anticipate reform, and approximate to their people. Europe has been, by the circumstances of war, brought as it were into closer contact, and society will derive advantage, in future, from this unusual commixture, and consequent assimilation; one extreme of society will rise, and the other will descend to meet it, without losing respect or consideration, and the diffusion of knowledge among the governors as well as the governed, will increase the moral power of sovereigns, while it will secure the loyalty of liberty in their subjects. Public opinion is the sovereign of Europe. It will *debourbonize* the Bourbons, and re-instate the people of France, of Spain, of Italy, of Holland, and of Ireland, in all those political

privileges, which are consistent with due subordination to the laws.

In all the chances and changes of men and things, we shall be, in our remote corner, the humble but never the humiliated advocates of civil and religious liberty, the cause as well as effect of personal integrity and independence of character, and dead as we are to ambition, and perhaps too indifferent either to censure or to praise, we still cherish at the bottom of our hearts that spark of enthusiasm, which, although covered by the pale ashes of time, still re-acts against the frigid element which surrounds it, and will become extinct only when the breath of life that first blew it into existence shall cease to give it animation. We are willing to believe that the same spark is latent in the breast of every man we see around us, but smothered in many, if not in most, by the selfish interests which have sprung from the war, and which the arrival of peace may awaken into the sympathies of society, and the liberality of thought and action natural to man, and, *heretofore* characteristic of the Irishman. Such feelings have been repressed by the scornful smile or sneer of the contractor, the panics real or pretended of the alarmist, and the sad civilities, and fear or offence which congeal the heart in polite companies, and produce in man rather an appetite than a taste for society. But society, it is hoped, will return to its *natural* state, when delivered from its real or ostentatious alarms respecting invasion, insurrection, rebellion, which occupied the whole mind, and produced a contagious chill of moderation. The partial, and personal interests of war by a succession of bonuses or bounties to particular classes, have biassed the public sentiment, they

and spirit, derived from nature and of which the diversified whole forms of the moral wealth of the public; that, in fine, the prolongation of such disorder would form a marked contradiction to the principles of a free government; order that the modes and the direction of the education of children, shall be restored to the authority of their fathers, and mothers, tutors or families, and that all boys who have been placed in schools, lyceums and other public institutions, without the wish of their parents, or who shall be reclaimed by them, shall be forthwith restored and set at liberty."

have operated as a *douceur*, to deceive the people at large, particularly in this part of the country, from the extraordinary and unnatural stimulus, produced by war consumption. These partial and personal interests, evidently distinguishable from the common weal, are now smiling in agony at the return of peace. The profits of war, like its fortunes, are fickle, fortuitous, precarious. While they water the branches, they do not reach the root of the tree. They are, as we think, fully counterbalanced, among the lowest part of the community, (the platform of the state,) by the severe pressure of taxation, which must continue when the accidental source of these profits is dried up; and not less, by a *spirit of expenditure*, which, through all ranks, has succeeded to that of *laying by*; and which has originated, partly, from the war demand, a cordial, rather than a solid and substantial nutriment, exhilarating the spirits, rather than adding to the stock of strength; partly, from the delusive increase of circulating medium, (the ghosts of a guinea); and, partly, from the influenza of fashion, which leads the middling ranks to copy, to the life, the nabobs and nabobings of the war.

The profits of the war, and the demand for provision and produce, have thus been countervailed, by the increased taxation, the rise of rents, and the augmented prices of every article which is to be *bought*, as well as of those which are to be *sold*. Perhaps, more than all, by accounting these profits rather in the light of what is vulgarly called a "God-send" and so to be *spent*, than the hoard of honest labour. We have much doubt whether *that hoard* be as great, throughout the land, as it was twenty years ago, while the habits of expenditure are as certainly in-

creased, and the produce sent out of the country. The sudden profits have only tempted landlords to raise their rents as suddenly, and thus, rents, taxes, prices, and depreciation have more than counterbalanced, by their pressure upon the people, all advantages which have been the precarious, and, in general, the partial consequences of the continental war.

Peace will occasion a strong *revulsion*. Rents must fall. Markets must fall. The settlement of the Continent will turn the bayonet and the spear into the shuttle and the plough-share. Germany and Holland will cultivate the blessings of peace in their agriculture and manufactures; and artificial speculation will sink into natural supply for natural demand; while the inordinate overflow of circulating medium, which threatened in its results to break down the *banks*, and inundate the country, will retire to its customary channels. The chaff of paper money will be dispersed, and the golden grain will bring back with it a more true estimation of what is real *wealth*, and a greater frugality in its expenditure. Both the government, and the people, will find it necessary to cultivate their truest resources, and to make war against other countries, not in the field of battle, but in the workshop, and manufactory; to subdue the *earth*, not the *men* of it; to turn our victorious arms against bogs and morasses, not against our fellow-mortals (ah! much less, against our fellow-countrymen.) but to say with Alexander, who may be truly termed the *great*—"I war not against a people, but an ambitious individual—I am the *friend* of the French people. It is just, it is wise to give to France strong and liberal institutions, which may be conformable to the present state of

knowledge." Wonderful, that the principle and practice of *reform* should thus be promulgated, in these civilized but sanguinary times, by an emperor of Russia. "It is at length time, that princes should watch over the welfare of the people, without foreign influence; that nations should respect their mutual independence; that social institutions should be protected from daily revolutions, property respected, and trade free." Such is the reform that will give to Europe a long and a blessed repose.

And we feel a pleasing confidence glowing through our whole frame, that *our* government will be at least as friendly to its own people of every description, as Alexander has been to a people so lately in hostility; that the same inestimable precepts of political œconomy will be speedily realised in every part of the British Empire; and that the hardships which *peace itself* will, in the first instance, bring upon society in this island, may be alleviated by the same tutelary and conciliating spirit which has recognised *civil* and *religious liberty* in France, those grand stimulants of human labour, and real sources of national wealth.

We have just read the new French Constitution, and we bless God, that humanity has not suffered so long and so dreadfully *in vain*; that, by wondrous means, and instruments past conceiving, the long agitation and universal wreck of a brave but abused people, is about to cease; that after such destruction and depopulation, the dry land should appear above the furious tide, and on it at length is manifested the *art* of free constitution, in which the *social compact* is recognized, the rights of men and citizens are guaranteed, the monarch is limited by law, all the people are rendered

equally admissible to all civil and military employments, the press is freed, the public debt guaranteed, property secured, the Napoleon code, civil and criminal, adopted, with the necessary alteration of the title, the independence of the judiciary power ascertained, the institution of juries preserved, military ranks, honours, and pensions undisturbed, the taxes equalized and annually legalized, the freedom of worship and conscience acknowledged, and the ministers of worship alike treated and protected, the ministers of the state rendered responsible, and the power of the hereditary monarch moderated and restrained, by the necessary concurrence of co-ordinate estates in the enactment of laws, and the imposition of taxes; a Senate of, at least, 150, and 200 at most, hereditary and immoveable in their dignity, though nominated by the King; and a Legislative Body, chosen from the people, through the media of the assemblies of Cantons and Electoral Colleges.

Such is the conquest made by the British Constitution; (how much more glorious than that of arms!) And such, we trust, will be the ground of cordial reconciliation between the *people* of Great-Britain and the *people* of France, in that most profitable of all trades, the community of free constitution; of consequence, in the utter extinction of those absurd antipathies, and natural, or more truly speaking, unnatural enmities, which have been the sad inheritance of history, and the great obstacle to the true interests of both nations. The interest of the *world*, and the interest of the *individual* depend entirely on the same liberty of deploying the powers and capacities of human nature, securing to all and each the labour of their hands, and cultivating ra-

ther than discountenancing the best feelings of the heart.

We fear, indeed, that there are many Englishmen, many Scotchmen, and (who could believe it!) many Irishmen, who wish not to cast to another even the crumbs of the British Constitution, from their table, filled, as it has been, with powers, partial prerogatives, and selfish ascendancies. They growl, at this passing over of the British Constitution into France, as Cerberus did, when he durst not bark at the beauteous Proserpine in her passage to the throne. They fear the time is come, when it is impossible that Irishmen can be treated worse than foreigners and foes; and "if all Frenchmen be admissible alike to all civil and military employments, while a perfect freedom of worship and conscience is established by law," will the advocates of *exclusive* constitution be able to preserve much longer the decayed and rotten pale of Protestant power, against the opinion and practice of the world, that tide of the times, which, notwithstanding its alternating flux and reflux, is still, like the ocean, advancing from east to west, and will ere long sweep away the remaining *stakes* of a penal code, that has for so many centuries turned an island, the glory of nature, into the disgrace of human government. "Why should we" said the poet, whose only book was human nature, "Why should we, in the compass of a *pale*, keep law, and form, and *due proportion*?" Such, we trust, will be the question brought home to the heads and hearts of a paternal and provident government, in spite of that jealousy which would parcel out the air, appropriate the sun, and dole out, by drops, the dews of heaven.

Napoleon has been made a scape-goat of the sins of the world;* and happy

* In Bonaparte's renunciation, the words, "faithful to *his* oath" may seem

it is, that the removal of a single despot can bring peace and good understanding among the nations of Europe; but there is a lurking despotism, which, although banished, we believe, from the moderate and magnanimous counsels of government, still keeps its hold in the minds and habits of the people; and it is this democratical despotism of opinion and conduct, in different classes and professions, which withstands even the ruling power, and withers its will and wish for national emancipation. Let government take up arms against this domestic despotism, and by the omnipotence of justice and mercy, put an end, a final end, to the civil wars of Ireland; or if they dare not do it, let the island be made over to Alexander, and the Russian reformer will harmonize the British Empire, by a just interpretation of the British Constitution. In truth, the progress of political knowledge and liberality upon the Continent may surprize and put to shame the boastful advocates of *exclusive* liberty, that fatal solecism which has brought so much misery upon this island.

While a new order of things is advancing majestically over the

to insinuate, indirectly, a reproach against the fidelity of the French people; and certainly every thing appears to have been so well arranged, and all persons so ready to shift into a new situation on the arrival of the allied armies at Paris, that one might think the whole drama of the day had been previously rehearsed in *private*. One person, we hope, (and *one only*) will not adhere to the new government, but to that supreme law which binds the destinies of a wife to the misfortunes, as well as the great fortunes of a husband. We wish Louisa may say to the Emperor of Austria, "You are the lord of duty, and hitherto my father; but here's my husband. Let others read their faith in to a thousand oaths. I have an oath in Heaven. I go with my husband—to *em-*pire, or to Elba."

world, while government of law is placed on the basis of representation, while monarchs are called back by the voice of the people and ELECTED *upon conditions* which secure public liberty : while a glorious field of speculation is opening for the future destinies of mankind ; while the liberty of person, of property, of conscience, of tongue, and of pen, is promulgated by the combined sovereigns of Europe, is this island to present for ever a monstrous and unnatural exception to the general triumph of humanity, and will not the British Government have a virtuous emulation to secure to *all* the people those civic rights which alone can extinguish the strife of factions, make all partial interests gravitate to a common centre, and instead of a poor and mangled peace, present to our eyes a new wonder, Ireland in peace with herself, and prepared to make the most of that "dear nurse of arts, plenties, and joyful births," through the united efforts of her whole population. Thus will Ireland be prepared for the year 1820, no longer the *vassal*, but the partner of the British Constitution. The partaker of its profits and honours will then cheerfully bear a just portion of its debts and incumbrances.

Can it be supposed that the Pope will still be put in the way, as an obstacle to universal peace, when the pretext of his being placed under the controul of a hostile power, must be abandoned by his recent liberation, and by gratitude to a monarch, who is himself bound by such multiplied obligations to the government of Great Britain ? Is not this the providential period, for the formation of an IRISH CONCORDAT, which may preserve all the *substantial forms* of spiritual authority, without the smallest encroachment on civil allegiance, domes-

ticating the Catholic episcopacy, and yet delivering it from the intrusion of the Protestant state, dangerous alike to Protestant independence, and the integrity of their church.

We think the late events on the continent most favourable to Catholic emancipation. The temper and tendencies of the times, the spirit of conciliation and the mediating authority of a government that will not, it is to be hoped, allow itself to be outstript in liberality by a *French* constitution, must, ere long, extinguish the war passions of this unhappy community, by a restoration more glorious still than that of a king to his throne, that of a faithful, and loyal, and long suffering people to their ancient rights, and privileges, in that constitution of which their ancestors laid the corner stone, although they now kneel on the steps which lead to the temple.

O ! for shame, remove this opprobrious spectacle, before the sovereigns of Europe make their intended visit to your capital ! Let not Alexander be, by any chance, present at a debate in the houses of parliament in which three or four millions of petitioners are driven from the threshold, before the eyes of the liberator of Europe, who has read so much of the British Constitution. "And who are these unhappy people ?" will he say. Marquis Wellesley, or, haply, Marquis Wellington, or my Lord Castlereagh *must* answer. "They are our countrymen." "And why afraid to redeem your countrymen ?" "Because they are Roman Catholics, and we are afraid of the Pope." "What ! the conquerors of Bonaparte, the liberators of Europe, afraid of the Pope ! Ah, you are not serious, you must have other reasons which you choose to hide !"

We are happy to find that Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Gratian, in

their last acceptance of the Catholic Petition, have expressed themselves in terms of cordiality, and displayed that Hibernicism of heart, which is characteristic of the mission and the missionaries. They no longer wish to find or to make subjects of complaint against the Catholic Board, or to fall in with that collection of *Protestant Boards*, which, under the designation of grand juries, have always been first in the crimination of their countrymen. They impose heavy taxes upon the people indiscriminately, a taxation without any representation. They pass at once their money-bills, of twenty and thirty thousands. They, not content with their constitutional function, and without waiting for the decision of legislature, denounce their fellow citizens, and deal political damnation throughout the land, from their ardent chambers. They seize upon the speech of an individual, and after tearing it into shreds of sentences and patches of periods, they string them together, without the least regard to context and connexion, and then these honest and honourable men, placard it in the public prints as the solemn and sincere sentiment of the Catholic Board. They, no doubt understand to lay out *roads* for their own benefit, but not *rights* for the common benefit; and vain would it be for us to tell them, that a communication of rights, are, by far, the *best roads* which can be made through a country; that they approximate society, facilitate exchange, augment national wealth, make labour sweet, and circulate life, activity, and the means of enjoyment through the moral map of the land.

Let then these *Protestant Boards* keep, also, within the sphere of their functions. Let not the future historian annex their names to the

tail of his publication, as men, who on all occasions, resisted the renovation of Ireland. Let them not become mere mantello towers or aristocracy, of which posterity will be puzzled to say, whether they were erected for the protection of the country from the enemy, or to overawe its inhabitants. In fine, let them, if possible, by an effort of imagination, place themselves in the situation of the Catholics of Ireland, and if then, they would have spoken, or written, or acted otherwise than as these Catholics of Ireland have done, we shall pronounce them to be (what we are far, very far from believing them to be,) base and dishonourable men, unworthy of those liberties which they now possess, and for the maintenance of which, they have often (perhaps too often) pledged their fortunes and their lives.

We rejoice in the events that have lately taken place, *only*, because we trust they will lead to the general restoration of tranquillity at home as well as abroad, not the tranquillity of the features of the face, but of the feelings of the breast. We rejoice in these events, *only*, because they tend, in our apprehension, to establish the rights and liberties of the people in all countries, upon a secure, a broad and permanent foundation. We will rejoice too in the restoration of the Bourbons, *only*, upon the supposition, that the dynasty which has been so well lessoned by, "the rigid lore of adversity," and has had such leisure to be good, will ascend, as fast as it once declined, in public estimation. We think that this ascension to the throne of the French, will almost entirely depend upon the practical accomplishment, as well as the formal acceptance of the new constitution. It will depend upon a just judgment, of the

different states of men's minds when Louis 16th succeeded to the crown, and when Louis the 18th has regained the crown of his ancestors, by an adherence of all ranks and stations, so sudden that royalism must rejoice, as we think, with a sort of trepidation, when it forebodes the future from the experience of the past, and even from English history.

In this instant of general felicitation, two parties are menacing the peace of France; the party which is desirous to return, in spirit though not perhaps in the letter, to the ancient order of things, and the party which is desirous to make the order of things correspond to the spread of knowledge, to the attainments, and the sacrifices of the people. Between these two hostile parties, the *retrograde* and the *progressive*, all France (and indeed we may say all Europe,) is still in danger of being distracted. Wisely and providently has the mole of a constitutional monarchy been erected, which rests upon the piles of religious liberty, and the principle of representation; but if these give way through the indolence, or infatuation of the monarch, a civil war will rage more dreadful than ever, and it will be, as if the cones of Cherbourg were borne away by the waves, and had rendered at once all the labours of man, and hope of a safe harbour, vain and impracticable.

For our parts, we will indulge the hope, even though it prove but a day dream, that the approaching congress of sovereign powers will guarantee the possession of a free constitution to the people of France; that they will protect that people, at all future time, from the despotism of particular orders, as well as of a single person; and that they will recognise and respect an infusion

of republicanism in the constitution of monarchy, as the best means of upholding it against the turns of fortune, and the shocks of revolution. This will prove the best indemnity for the past, and the amplest security for the future. The compact of sovereigns should seal and ratify the social compact, and in doing so, establish the independence of nations in the happiness of their subjects. Then will the spirit of liberty (which in reality is the spirit of law,) infuse vital virtue throughout the mass of mankind, and "earth, self balanced, on her centre hang."

The executive government has accomplished great things during the parliamentary recess, but it is now that the two other branches of legislature have great duties to perform. They have to turn the war passions, and war habits so long cultivated, into a new direction. They have to keep up a war taxation in a peace establishment, without disturbing the good humour of the community. They have to encourage rational views of public interest, to encourage frugality rather than speculation, and contrive the best means of quietly absorbing in useful industry, the shoal of idle and unproductive vocation, that will regurgitate upon the land. They have to fall back from foreign objects, to the best resources that a state can yield, the only real sinking fund by which public debt can be discharged, not by that illusory system of finance, which, while it pays off with one hand, has always kept largely borrowing with the other.

But the true wealth, and inexhaustible resource of every country, and particularly of these countries, is to be derived from the extension of that civil and religious liberty, which makes all classes and de-

nominations happy at home, and which makes a republic and a monarchy perfectly compatible with each other; the citizens guaranteed in their *rights*, as the sovereign in his powers, and both connected by reciprocal *duties* into, and *under*, one constitution. THE CONSTITUTION, IS, OR OUGHT TO BE THE SCHOOL FOR ALL. Men are but children of a larger growth, and merit, ought to find its adequate honours and rewards, under a new arrangement, and more happy organization. Order is every thing. The dark and impracticable charcoal, by a different arrangement of the same particles, becomes the precious and resplendent diamond. The hedge school which "assaults our ears with stunning sounds, and voices all confused, a universal hubbub wild," by the new improvements in education, is changed into order, industry, and *happiness*; and so would it prove, were the country, at large, with small labour and expense, turned into a national institute, exactly on the same principles, and all the inhabitants regarded as the children of the state. The vices and virtues of a people are always the effects of legislation, and the value of Ireland, moral, or political, will never be fully ascertained, until the Catholics of Ireland enjoy, as the Protestants of Ireland, the Constitution of Great-Britain.

It has long been the watchword of timidity, venality, and hypocrisy, "beware of party." Many an ardent thought, and many an embryo of virtuous exertion, has been damped by the chilling words, "this is a party business." Party in the honourable sense of the word, is a united exertion of many to effect a certain purpose. If the end is honourable, and the means pure,

no room is left to censure the co-operation of many to accomplish an object, to which, individual unassisted strength is unequal. This honourable coalition is very different from the counterfeit, which leagues men together to accomplish some plan, whether honourable, or dishonourable, as it may happen to suit the views of interested leaders, and which is very little scrupulous about the selection of means to accomplish the objects of pursuit. Hence often measures are defended, to use a significant phrase drawn from the miry state of roads, and persons are disposed to go "through thick and thin" to arrive at a certain point. Thus every measure of the party is defended, although justice and truth may whisper their disownment of the means, and may disclaim all connexion with measures originating rightly, but which have taken an erroneous and vicious direction.

So it has fared with that stupendous event in history, the French revolution: commenced in the legitimate and virtuous attempts to obtain freedom from grievous oppression, and to establish the glorious principles of liberty on a firm basis. Men with their minds intoxicated by the glimmerings of new discoveries, and dazzled with the light shining on their dungeons, and bastiles, and driven to madness by the unprincipled conduct of princes to destroy their efforts, certainly on many occasions, overstepped the boundaries of right, and committed excesses shocking to humanity, and over which hypocrisy has affected to wail, as if they were the certain consequences of cherishing the spirit of liberty, and as if excesses of equal, if not of greater atrocity, had not been perpetrated by the advocates and possessors of arbitrary power.

Many were raised to an ephemeral eminence on the ruins of liberty, and on the wreck of their country, until at length one man rose to colossal distinction, and dazzled the world, not by his virtues, but by the ostentatious, unamiable, and unfeeling qualities of a soldier. It is a reflection on the vaunted civilization of Europe, that a conqueror should have so long triumphed over outraged humanity, so as to resemble the exploits of Tamerlane conquering the hordes of Asiatic savages. He has fallen, deservedly fallen from his lofty pinnacle.

"The proud are taught to taste of pain,
And purple tyrants vainly groan
With pangs unfelt before, unpitied, and
alone."

He who pens these remarks, would not now make them, lest he might appear ungenerously to trample on the fallen, if they had not been his sentiments, during the zenith of this man's abused power, and if he had not before frequently expressed similar sentiments in this retrospect. Sentiments of disapprobation of tyranny ought not to be dependent on circumstances, and events are often not the best tests of the purity of motives. In the late giddy whirl of successive events, which accompanied the rapid downfall of Bonaparte, it was necessary to steady the head by cool reflection, and to take a breathing time to avoid being carried away by the rapidity of the motion. In a calm thus sought, and through the exercise of patience obtained, principle grants its aid. Principle is not guided by existing circumstances, but like the magnet is true to a certain point. It restores polarity to the mind, and enables to take a comprehensive view of the past, to tranquillize the present, and cautiously to anticipate the future.

In discussing the present won-

derful and sudden change, it is absolutely necessary to separate the cause of Bonaparte from that of the French people, and the still more important and interesting cause of liberty. The system adopted in England, of which William Pitt was the ostensible leader, he being the conjuror who raised the storm, although certainly not "the pilot who weathered" it, produced a concurrence of circumstances, of which Bonaparte availed himself to mount to power. On his return from Egypt, he found France distracted by the artifices of the allied powers, and under the feeble and corrupt rule of the Directory. With the assistance of his brother Lucien, who on that occasion supported him, although he soon deserted him when he found the extent and insatiability of his ambition,* he succeeded

* Lucien, of all the family, appears to be the wisest, and perhaps the honestest. The following delineation of his character is drawn by the author of the Examiner, and published in February last, before the late scenes had so fully developed the catastrophe of the wonderful drama.

"Lucien lived for some years at or in the neighbourhood of Rome, where he had a princely mansion, a magnificent collection of pictures, and was regarded with every respect by the Italians; by the common sort for his relationship to the French Emperor, by the rest, for his taste and liberality.

Lucien valued his peace and his character too much to consent to the plans of his brother, and it is believed he has a very sincere love of retirement. He lost, as a French courtier would say, the favour of his brother, that is to say, he kept his own self-respect; and in consequence of some real or imaginary cross-purposes, not yet explained, was intercepted in his attempt to go to America, and brought to this country. Here he resides with a numerous establishment, in which, we believe, under the guise of employing masters in his family, he has contrived to provide for some deserving men, without hurting their delicacy. His chief enjoyment and occupation is poetry; he has a

in overthrowing the existing establishment, and raised himself to the rank of First Consul, and then, depending on the apathy and tame bowing of the neck of the French, he assumed the more insolent and

fine family, who live harmoniously together; and he walks, rides, and visits about the neighbourhood, amidst the respect and good wishes of every body. To be sure he has not the title of king; he does not enjoy as much as a nominal court; he even rides about with plain B. on his curriole; there may now and then be seen at a door in Worcester, a plain looking gig or curriole, with a single servant in it; he is absolutely cut off from the delight of occasionally seeing a whole regiment of his enemies swept away by artillery; but then he has no painful regrets; he is not ludicrous or degraded in his own eyes; he need not have recourse to the bottle to drown his cares; he is not loaded with anxieties and bad passions; he can think, talk, and feel as he pleases; and in short, possesses his own body and his own soul, without fear either of pity from Dutchman, contempt from Westphalian, dagger from Spaniard, or execration from all. While Louis, amidst better recollections, is regretting that he should ever have been the instrument of oppression,—while Jerome is burning with impatience to exhibit himself as a king again, Joseph thinking of all the slaughters in Spain, and Napoleon hurrying hither and thither, with all his house about his ears, and the consciousness of having lost all the gains of his iniquity by the violence of his passions, Lucien is sitting in the midst of his family, in the midst of kind faces and grateful ones, with comfort in his recollections, quiet about his ears, and contentment at his heart. Nor is his the tedious and dragging peace of the idler; he has seen enough of the bustle of the world, to enjoy the contrast of the stillness; he has carried all the better cares of society with him into his solitude; his mind fills him with occupation; and when he thinks of all that he has given up, and of the greater little he has retained, he, and he alone, of all the Bonapartes, can say to himself, "After all, I am happy."

imposing title of Emperor. He gradually withdrew himself from the people, and shut himself out from them by the establishment of his levees, and the formal introductions he required from those admitted to his *august* presence. The writer well remembers the sensation made on his mind in 1802, when during the short truce, Bonaparte refused to admit any British to his levees, except they who had been presented at St. James's. If he ever was the friend to liberty, he then proved by this foolish assumption of factitious grandeur, that he no longer was under the guidance of its truly ennobling influence. He then practised what he has since made a boast of, through his orator de Fontanes, one of his instruments, who like the others, has lately deserted him, that he had adopted the cause of kings against the people. Who can pity him, because his new associates have deserted him? He entered on his course of victory, with a success which hurried him on to still farther excesses, and an inordinate ambition to aggrandize himself, at whatever expense of happiness to others, being his ruling passion, he proceeded for a time unrestrained in his mad career. He made, and attempted to unmake kings at his pleasure, sometimes elevating his brothers, and again putting down Louis, because he was too gentle and conciliating in his rule over the Dutch. Such a man must fall unpitied by those, who have no sympathy with conquerors. His ostentatious display of clemency towards the sovereigns whom he conquered, reminds of Hawke's worth's admirable comparison between Alexander, and Bagshot the robber. He imitated the latter, by throwing back to the sovereigns of Austria and Prussia, their countries, after he had impoverished them, with

as great magnanimity as Bagshot insultingly gave the shilling to pay the turnpike, to the families of the men whom he had robbed and murdered; with the aggravation, in the former case, that his brutal ferocity towards the Queen of Prussia is said to have hastened the death of this amiable woman, the justly regretted victim of the wars which have distracted Europe for the last twenty years. A story is told on apparently good authority, that Bonaparte refused to grant peace to Prussia, unless it were personally solicited by the Queen, and that in the reluctant interview to which the necessity of the times forced her to submit, he treated her with a hauteur devoid of all delicacy, and approaching to ferocity. Yet for a time this modern Alexander, decked with the false glories of a conqueror, appeared to add another instance in the catalogue of the misjudging opinions of mankind, that although the Bagshots, the robbers on a less extended scale, were led to execution amid the indignant execrations of the multitude, he was for a time applauded, and perhaps would have been still applauded, if his last incursion into Russia had not changed the colour of his fortune, and turned the successful hero into less than a common man. It is not a little curious to perceive how the Editors of the Paris papers now abuse the man whom so lately they flattered. All the stories they relate of him may not be true; but they at least prove how much the tide is turned in France against the late object of their real, or perhaps constrained adoration. Such a sudden change in the manner of treating him, may afford an useful lesson to men in high stations, to show how soon their venal flatterers desert them, and how little reliance can be placed on the flatteries of corrupt editors, always rea-

dy to turn with the wind of prosperity, and to unsay to day what they had said yesterday. In forming an estimate of his moral worth, his conduct in private life affords not an amiable picture. Here personal aggrandizement, his error and his ruin, also formed his ruling passion. Lucien was put out of favour, and Louis was dethroned. Jerome was forced to repudiate his wife, and Napoleon himself proved that he disregarded the ties and the charities of private life, by divorcing his wife Josephine, when his wild, and in the result, impolitic ambition, led him to espouse the Austrian princess.

Upon summing up the whole, is Bonaparte deserving to be ranked among the benefactors of the human race? The friends to peace, to reform, and to the amelioration of the state of man, return a decided negative. No hero can be ranked as such. He kept the people of France in subjection by a shackled press, which did not allow them to know the events passing in other countries, and by a hateful system of espionage, and a most rigid system of police, so strict that if a man ventured to whisper a dislike to his measures, he was almost sure of being detected, and of encountering most grievous punishment. He had no hold on the affections of the people of France. They repaid him for his ingratitude and tyranny, by being equally regardless of his interests, as he was of theirs. Fear, not love kept them under subjection to his iron rule. This account is given on the authority of a gentleman, who had spent some years in France, a man of a most firm and decided attachment to the cause of liberty, and who predicted, many months ago, what has since been verified, that if an external force should free

the French from the terror of Bonaparte, that he would be universally detested and deserted; as no class of the people were cordially attached to him.

Under all the circumstances the allied sovereigns, have so far behaved well on taking possession of Paris. Yet it is prudent to withhold too hasty praise, till we see the winding up of the business, and learn from events, to appreciate their sincerity. If the Emperor of Russia really feels all the good sentiments he expresses in his proclamations, surely his assisting in establishing a free constitution in another country, must let in some new light on the state of the country, over which he himself rules. The French have in the present emergency also probably acted as well as their peculiar circumstances would allow. They have indeed reinstated the Bourbons, and subjected the nation to the dangers of their misrule. But with so great a foreign force overawing them, they were scarcely free agents, and were probably forced to submit in some degree to external pressure. From the past little good can be anticipated of the Bourbons, but they may have been instructed by adversity, and should they again misbehave, England has already shewn the example, that the restoration of the profligate Charles, and the bigotted James, only protracted the existence of the Stuart dynasty for the space of not quite thirty years.*

In the mean time a limited monarchy and a representative govern-

ment are settled points. The constitution is equal to the one established in 1791, which had Louis the XVI.

the Stuarts, and the necessity of profiting by experience, in the following memorable and appropriate terms.

"No man could contemplate the issue of the struggle in which Europe had been so long engaged, without feelings of gratitude to the Disposer of all human events; and he trusted that the example of the horrors with which the French people had been so long afflicted, and with which their Despot had been allowed to scourge all surrounding nations, would make a deep impression upon the minds of all, and on those the most, upon whose conduct the happiness of others must depend. In the course of this fatal period of anarchy and persecution, there had been two distinct and memorable stages; the one, that of unbridled licentiousness, arising from popular fury; the other, that of intolerable oppression under military despotism. He trusted that these would produce an awful warning to the Royal Family now recalled; so that by steering the middle course of a lenient Government on the basis of a free Constitution, they would maintain with a just authority the peace, security, and happiness of their people. He could not help alluding to a circumstance which forcibly recalled to his mind the wisdom which ought ever to make Princes mindful of what they owed to their people. He had had the honour to dine at a City hall but a few days ago, where he was struck with the curious historical fact, that King Charles II. on his being recalled to the throne of these realms, had been entertained and hailed by the citizens, and where he had made professions of his determination to preserve to all orders of the community, their rights and liberties; and yet but a few years afterwards, by his conduct and that of his successor, in trampling on the rights of the people, the family were for ever driven from the throne."

The Duke gave the following toast,

"The respectability of the Crown, the durability of the Constitution, and the happiness of the people."

The respectability of Princes, contains a more deep meaning, than directly meets the ear, and may convey a salutary lesson near home. Princes do more by their

* The Duke of Sussex at a late public dinner at the mansion house, has in so enlightened and instructive manner alluded to the restoration of the Bourbons, the awful warning furnished by

honestly observed, and against which if the allied powers had not in 1792, sent the Duke of Brunswick, with his violent manifesto, and a large force, France might have been preserved from beholding the overthrow of the honest and intelligent party of the Gironde, from the horrible excesses of Robespierre and the ferocious Mountain party, from the imbecility and corruption of the Directory, and from the despotism of Bonaparte. All parties have returned back again to the point, from which they unhappily deviated in 1791, and from present appearances, the triumph is now decidedly with the friends of civil and religious liberty.*

foibles, and their vices to work their own ruin than can be achieved by the most violent anarchists. Like other men they are mostly the makers of their own fortune whether good or bad. The restoration of the Bourbons, cannot obliterate the remembrance of their former vices.

* The friends of liberty have certainly more cause to rejoice in the recent illuminations for the triumph of their cause in the renovated constitution of France, than the lovers of war for the success of arms, and the former were more sincere in their rejoicings. A great degree of langour appeared to characterize the war faction, in some places, on the late rejoicing. A person not in the habit of joining in the practice of illuminating, as considering it in all cases an unmeaning and inconvenient practice, and in some instances, as in rejoicing for the destruction of mankind, a highly improper one, on reconsidering the subject found little objection to illuminate on the late occasion of a prospect of peace, provided he could at the same time have had a transparency, so as to declare his sentiments, without a danger of being misunderstood. The transparency he would have adopted, would have been something like the following. Peace in a beautiful robe, unsealing the wax of military commissions with one hand, and breaking swords and Bayonets with the other:

The French after all they have suffered, and after all they have acquired in knowledge, and dear bought experience, arising from the horrors both of anarchy and despotism, cannot be expected to relapse again into their former state of slavery. The late despotism was the very reverse of the enjoyment of liberty, and of the rights of man. It is not an unreasonable retribution, that the French should pay somewhat dearly for their love of military glory, and after having permitted their late proud hero to take a temporary possession of Berlin, Vienna, and Moscow, that their city of Paris should likewise be trodden by foreigners, who to their honour it must be admitted have not abused their power. Moderation has been their distinguishing characteristic, and the Cossacs have proved themselves more merciful than the intolerant warfaction, who spoke exultingly of the conflagration of Paris.

The progress of Spanish liberty is also advancing, not merely in words, but in correct ideas and enlarged opinions being gradually formed. One member of the Cortes justly reprehended an expression in one of the king's letters, in which he used the word, *vassalos*, or vassals, as not appropriately designating the connexion between a king, and a people under a free government, and the rule of the laws.

expressing a wish in favour of Parliamentary reform, and Catholic Emancipation, and pronouncing her reign as favourable to the completion of these great events; while with the left foot she trod on Bonaparte, as the supporter of despotism, and the grand type of military power; and with her right on an Orangeman, as the symbol of domestic oppression; with a scroll underneath, inscribed with the words, "THE DOWNFALL OF DESPOTISM."

At home also, let us hope that public spirit will revive. It has for some time been retrogressive. The war gave an unfavourable direction to the public mind. The despotism of Bonaparte afforded a pretext to the enemies of liberty to misinterpret the motives of the friends of the cause of freedom. Above all other considerations, the influence of government was strengthened by the increased patronage arising from the war, and the consequent multiplication of offices. Officers military and naval, army-surgeons, barrack-masters, contractors, and an entire host, including all their near connexions and relatives, formed a formidable phalanx to extend the baneful influence of a wide-spreading, and overwhelming corruption, and to act as a compact body against reform, and against peace. This numerous body are even now not well satisfied. They behold in peace, the annihilation, or the abridgment of their power. They affected to wish for peace, but as it is evident their pretended "wishes give them not their wish," it may be reasonably supposed, that the hatred they expressed to Bonaparte, was only assumed. His downfall for which they appeared to be so anxious, and took as their rallying point, now when accomplished, is not able to counteract their base, selfish propensities, and produce a temper in favour of peace. They were desirous to keep up abuse of Bonaparte only as a pretext, but their object was war, eternal war, that they might turn it to their own advantage in some shape of patronage or emolument. After being so long trained to the habits of war, and reaping the harvest of their gains from it, they do not readily accommodate themselves to the new and happier prospects, which are opening on the communi-

ty.* Bonaparte had essentially contributed to foster a warlike disposition. He has fallen a victim to it. A re-action in favour of peace was produced. There was a general desire of peace, and of rest, so as to outweigh the motives for war. Other governments, especially our own, who have often discovered a propensity and a fondness for war, may receive salutary instruction, and learn that the burden of war may become too heavy for the endurance of the people.

The advocates for unceasing war now turn their last hopes to a continuance of the war with America, and hope to be gratified with a renewal of scenes of slaughter in that country. Let us hope that they will be disappointed, and that the negotiations at Gottenburgh will end in peace. If a general peace takes place in Europe, most of the points in dispute with America are virtually suspended, as they

* The following lines written nearly about the commencement of the French revolution, by Edward Rushton of Liverpool, a man of the most honourable and inflexible adherence to principle, and lofty independence, in terms not unappropriate to the present crisis, thus celebrates the triumph of the fall of despotism, and the hopes of a spread of freedom. The downfall of Bonaparte in 1814, opens almost as cheering prospects as the demolition of the Bastile in 1789. If the event is improved, as it is hoped it may, great advantages to the cause of liberty may follow.

"With electrical force, thro' the nations
around,
Her fire may dear Liberty dart;
'Mong the sons of the North, may its glow
soon be found,
May it warm each Iberian heart;
'Cross the huge snowy Alps, to a region
once dear,
May the soul-lifting influence be hurl'd;
May its radiance the whole human family
cheer,
And may tyrants be banish'd the world."

are only brought into operation in a time of war, and after all that has been suffered, it would be absurd to continue a war, for points of difference which necessarily lie dormant in a state of peace between the powers of Europe. It is however sincerely to be wished, that the arrogance of Britain will not be permitted to exact hard conditions from the weakness of the United States. They may receive help from the Emperor of Russia, who will not be hasty in allowing too high assumption of maritime rights on the part of Britain.

But nations are more generally influenced by interest than justice, and there is much of pretence in their manifestoes. These allies, who speak with so much moderation in France, are themselves the spoilers of Poland, and the magnanimous Alexander after having filched Finland, joins to compel the surrender of Norway to Sweden, and Britain issues an order to prevent communications with the Norwegians, which in the present situation of that country, is equivalent to an order for starvation, to force them into submission to the views of the confederated allies. In this act they inconsistently support the character of the liberators of Europe; and full faith cannot be given to their pretensions of acting on honour, till they restore Poland, and cease to force a separation from Denmark on Norway.

An excellent article in the French Constitution declares, that "All Frenchmen are equally admissible to all civil and military employments." Such a declaration entitles the constitution to the character of restoring liberty. Will our legislature follow the example, and declare all sects equally intitled to the privileges of the state, without religious distinction? Until this liberal con-

cession takes place, our constitution is manifestly inferior to the French. A great benefit has been gained by the revolution. The Protestants in France are established in their rights. Let us hope it will not be long till equal justice shall be rendered to the Catholics, both in Great-Britain and Ireland.

The Grand Jury of the County of Down have joined in resolutions against the Catholic Board. It is cause of much regret to see some of the names which are attached to the resolutions; and with the highest respect, and even veneration, for one who has always been, and still is, a sincere friend of civil and religious liberty, it would be dereliction of our public duty, to shrink from passing a censure, where it is considered to be justly due. A disposition to compromise often leads to an indecision in council, and a want of energy in action. It would have been highly gratifying to have enrolled the name of Archibald Hamilton Rowan as a dissident, as in our last number George Ensor was recorded, standing alone in the Grand Jury of the County of Armagh. In the strict distribution of impartial justice, the Catholic Board does not stand as the most prominent grievance. Some of their proceedings may at times be irregular, their constitution anomalous, and their existence as a body improper, if all things else were in their right situation in this country. But so long as the rights of the Catholics are withheld, and so long as hostile societies, bound by secret obligations, are permitted to be arrayed against them, so long will the Catholic Board be useful as a protection to a degraded and oppressed people. The first aggressions are on the parts of Protestants. Remove them fairly, honestly and substantially, and then the Catholic Board becomes useless. If, after jus-

tice is done, they should persist in meeting, let the laws speak with strict impartiality against them. But till their grievances are redressed, resolutions exclusively directed against the Board are unequal, and partial. But thus it is common in many instances to treat the Catholics, as if not being on a footing of equality, they had not the common right to complain. All mention is omitted of the grievances which affect them, but if they express their complaints in too loud or earnest a tone, in short, if they at all assume the attitude of freemen, if they are not all perfection, and are not as soft and unmeaning as the monopolists think proper to desire, then a full load of censure is thrown on them. They are said to injure their own cause, because they are not sufficiently bending, and there is a general combination to condemn them. Editors of public papers, to cover their own apostasy, under the dishonourable pretence of affected friendship, consider themselves at liberty to censure, confine themselves only to blaming and find fault with all that is done, but do not assist even with one of their fingers, to remove the burdens which lie heavy on our Catholic brethren.

The charges brought against the Board, besides that one already alluded to, of intemperance in language, &c. raising subscriptions, and vitiating trial by jury. As to intemperance in language, besides the defence already made for them, it may be added that Dr. Dromgole remains under censure of the Board, for using expressions of polemical asperity against Protestants. One error in reasoning respecting Catholics, lies in the prejudice that will not admit the same excuses for them as for others. If a Catholic uses too strong language, he is im-

mediately hunted down, as by a general cry, while expressions of equal bitterness used against them, are but slightly noticed, and at most, but tenderly condemned. All other sects are permitted to raise subscriptions for their various purposes of offence and defence. Bible societies, missionary societies, societies to convert Jews, sects regular and irregular, have their funds and subscriptions. Catholics alone are severely condemned, if, in addition to the funds necessary to transmit their petitions to the legislature, they request from their members subscriptions to enable them to discharge debts of gratitude which they owe to their intrepid advocates, and to defend the poorer members of their community against their leagued oppressors.

The charge against Juries was not unqualified. They hinted that trial by jury might under certain circumstances prove a curse. The system of juries must ever depend on the materials of which they are composed; and may be either good or bad, as the qualities of justice, or the influence of party spirit, or the weight of government, may happen to preponderate. Let the County of Down grand Jury consider, whether, at the very Assizes at which they issued their resolutions, a circumstance did not occur, which strongly marked the occasional misconduct of juries, and occasioned a reprehension from the impartial judge on the bench, Solicitor General Bushe, in language not to be misunderstood, when on hearing the verdict of a jury, he exclaimed, "That is your verdict, I thank God it is not mine!"

Orangemen on juries have a bias arising from their previous oath, to sympathize with those of their party who stand at the bar. Three known Orangemen, if not more;

were on the jury, who tried the persons at the summer assizes at Carrickfergus, accused of throwing stones in Belfast on the 12th of the preceding month. Justice should be impartially administered, and free even from all suspicion. This can never take place, while Orangemen are permitted to sit on juries to try Orangemen, or the opponents of Orangemen.*

* A pamphlet has lately appeared, entitled, "Orangism exposed, and its errors detected; being a free and impartial inquiry, into the nature and tendency of that institution, and its principles brought to the test of reason and common sense; in a series of essays lately published in a Northern Journal. To which are added, remarks upon the address of the Orangemen of Armagh to Dr. Duigenan, and his reply now first published; and an appendix, containing the Orange Constitution, obligations secret articles, &c. By an Irishman. Newry, printed for the Author." It is strongly deserving of public attention, and is earnestly recommended to the perusal of our readers.

The following extracts will elucidate the subject treated on in the Retrospect.

"A person avowing himself to be an Orangeman, a few days ago, stated, that he had seen a circular letter, informing the Orangemen, 'that their societies had increased rapidly in England and Scotland, since the late discussions in Parliament...that there is not a commanding officer in the army but has a warrant at command, if he chooses to apply for it; that some of the first men in England are at the head of it, and that one of the judges is a grand master.' On his being told, that the petition from the friends of civil and religious liberty, which is to be presented next session, would bring the matter again before parliament, which would probably then decide; he exclaimed, 'Down decision; if they put it down, I will be the greatest of rebels.'"

"It has been said by an Orangeman, that there is a judge in England who is a grand master. Now, this to the people in both countries, must be matter of the most serious consideration; the consequences of the Bench being tainted with Orangism,

The trials at the late assizes at

would tend to the corrupt and partial administration of the laws, and therefore, will be deprecated by every man who is not an Orangeman. But I hope, and have confidence, that in no instance has the Bench been so far stained with Orangism, as to suffer it to weigh in the slightest degree, in the judicial proceedings thereof; and that the judges are free to administer the laws with justice and without favour or affection to any sect or party.

It is to be lamented, that in many cases there has not been that strict impartiality in the appointment of juries, which is consistent with the principles of the constitution; and that when persons have been brought to trial, who were known to be of any particular party, no attention has been paid to having the juries made up of neutral or disinterested persons, and that verdicts have uniformly been returned accordingly; This serious evil is productive of the most mischievous consequences. It has induced one party to consider their persons sacred, and that they may violate the laws with impunity; and another, that in the laws there is no protection for them, except in the laws of retaliation. They therefore attempt to redress those wrongs which they despair of having redressed by the laws of the country. This flagrant evil calls loudly for amendment; It is a consideration which should ever preclude Orangemen from sitting as jurors, at the trial of any of the members of the institution; as it is obvious that it is impossible for them to act impartially on such occasions. For instead of "well and truly trying, and true deliverance making, between our sovereign lord the King and prisoners at the bar, according to the evidence," they will rather try them by the oath they have mutually taken as Orangemen, and verdict give according to the signs the culprit may throw from the dock. Such has been the case in many instances, and such may be expected from the nature of the oath of Orangemen, as no doubt they consider it a paramount duty to protect a brother under all circumstances. By the 8th of the secret articles, the Orangemen is bound to keep a brother's secret as his own unless in case of murder, treason and perjury, and that of his own free will; by which we are to understand, that he is

Downpatrick, for the riots at Kilkeel,*

not to blame, if he inform upon a brother who has been guilty of these three great crimes, but that the choice is left with himself to disclose or to keep it secret: and from the construction of the article in question, it appears he is bound to keep secret any of the three crimes individually, and that it is only when the three are combined, that he has the choice of revealing the secret. Now, when the laws of their society bind them not to divulge such crimes, as murder, treason, or perjury, if individually committed by an Orangeman, and leave them at liberty to disclose them or not, when all combined and committed by one person, how will they feel towards a brother Orangeman in the dock, where he cannot stand charged with crimes of greater magnitude? Will they not look upon their oaths as jurymen, as a mere trifle, compared with that which they consider the bond of their society, and that to find a brother Orangeman guilty of one of the three crimes mentioned, or of any of minor importance, would be a violation of solemn obligations into which they have entered, for the protection of each other, and for promoting the objects for which they have been associated?"

The author in another place thus justly exposes another horrid feature of the Orange system:

"It is said, that by one of their secret articles, they are bound not to take any thing from any person, but arms ammunition, and that only from an enemy. This secret article has been adopted in a late period of the association, and was not one of their original rules, by which is plainly inferred, that they had been formerly in the habit of taking other kinds of property, from those they thought proper to treat as enemies; yet it is well known, that even this secret article has not been strictly adhered to, as other kinds of property have been appropriated by Orangemen, since the adoption of this secret article. But provided they were strictly to adhere to this principle, and to take nothing but arms and ammunition from those they may consider enemies; what must be the apprehensions of the other members of community, who do not belong to the institution? Who are we to suppose, are the enemies implied by that secret article? It cannot mean the foreign enemies of the

afford a most distressing representation of our present state, and a dismal foreboding of what may yet follow. The country is divided into two rival factions. Orangemen showed the example, and led the way. Thrashers have associated to defend themselves against their attacks. These meet occasionally at fairs and markets, and dreadful outrages ensue. At Kilkeel, a bravo of each party, both probably drunk, meet, and fight. Others are entangled on both sides. The parties have been justly and exemplarily punished by an upright judge.

state, for the Orangemen have no opportunities of contending with them, nor would they be called upon for the exercise of such moderation towards the French or their allies, as they would be fully justified by the laws of war in taking from them every other species of property; and from the well known cupidity which prevails in the Orange body, we have good reason to suppose, that they would not forego the advantages which the fortune of war might put into their power. The enemies, therefore, which are meant, must be the members of that community of which they themselves are a portion. What a dangerous position! What an awful consideration! Orangemen have enemies in the country, and those enemies are armed; and the Orangemen are sworn to deprive them of their arms; by force of course, as we are not to expect, that an armed enemy will quietly part with his arms. What then must be the consequence of such a struggle? A civil war: the Orangemen on the one side, and all the other members of the community on the other, or at least such as they may consider to be their enemies. Dreadful thought!"

* We shall thank any of our correspondents for a correct statement of the riots at Kilkeel. Much has been said by way of comment in some of the public papers on that subject; but no correct statement has been published, though it is so highly important to have the real facts detailed. A few facts, clearly communicated, far outweigh voluminous comment.

So far justice is satisfied. But the worst remains; a number of houses of unoffending Catholics were after the first affray, attacked, and wrecked, by Orange-Yeomen, who being in possession of arms, employ them against the public peace, and next day, some men peaceably going on the road near Kilkeel, were fired upon by the same party. Yet on the trial at Downpatrick, the jury acquitted the men charged with this crime although in the case of two of the men, no defence was set up, and in the case of the other three, only a clumsy alibi was attempted. This verdict drew forth the pointed observations of the judge, as already stated, and it is earnestly hoped, his representations will prove to the Lord Lieutenant, the danger of continuing arms in the hands of men, who abuse them for the purposes of party, and thus render themselves dangerous to the public safety, and the peace of the country. In the prospect of peace, so cheering to humanity, let not the work be left imperfect. May we have PEACE AT HOME* as well as abroad.

*In the late illuminations, the inhabitants of the town of Lurgan even outdid the puny attempt at the Excise-Office in Belfast, where under a shallow pretext of reference to foreign politics, the insignia of division, and it may be truly added of sedition in the proper meaning of the word, were exhibited in a display of Orange colours. At Lurgan, it seemed rather to be the victory of Orangemen, than a triumph for the restoration of peace. The standard of civil strife was planted around the base of the Church spire, and remained up for several days, while party factious tunes were played, and every mode of irritation employed to insult the Catholics. A liberal toast was given at the public dinner at Newry, "Universal peace, and every one his own way to Heaven." None such graced the Belfast dinner. It is in vain to wish "that internal discords may be forgotten,"

The answer of John Philpot Curran, late Master of the Rolls, (see page 321) to the address of the Catholic Board, is an excellent specimen of sound reasoning in defence of the cause of the restoration of the rights of the Catholics, and shews that he is in the undiminished possession of the powers of his great mind, so often and so honestly engaged in advocating the cause of Irish freedom. If he go to Parliament, as is expected, his splendid and substantial oratory will be a credit to Ireland, and an acquisition to the senate; while his voice may once more be powerfully raised in support of the cause of his country, of humanity, and of justice.

K.

while means are industriously sought and used to continue them against one side; and when a party toast accompanied with an appropriate tune, is insultingly given to irritate a large portion of the community. "Let discord cease," are worse than unmeaning expressions, when they only imply a censure on the injured for complaining against the insults of the privileged classes. There is no reciprocity in using a motto in this partial sense. Discord must cease on the part of the oppressors in the first instance. But intolerance triumphs, and virtue finds few champions, who with undaunted tongues, enter a public and spirited protest. A cowardly feeling of neutrality pervades, and under the affectation of belonging to no party, many give effectual support, comfort and assistance to the enemies of civil and religious liberty.

The partiality of the newspaper press is apparent. The conductors reprobate, and all just men join them in censuring an attack made on some Dutch sailors, who with the privilege of foreigners, appeared in the streets of Belfast, with the insignia of the present dominant party in their country, probably without any allusion to our politics, but they do not venture to hint dislike at the display of the emblems of Irish party at the Excise-Office. This is the present newest fashion of assumed impartiality!